1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white, 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto, 49 per cent.[12]

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the production of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized in the Recôncavo.[14]

The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By 1597 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversifications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills. For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

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[113] [12]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica, 1949), pp. 59-80.

[114] The Zona Fisiográfica Centro-Litoral (Central-Littoral Physiographic zone) is one of a series of nine so-called physiographic zones used as major subdivisions in Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8. It includes all 21 of the Recôncavo municípios, and 17 others.

[13]Amaral, op. cit., II, 367.

[14]Amaral, op. cit., II, 366, and Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[137] [15]Manihot utilissima, called cassava, manioc, or, sometimes, tapioca in English and mandioca in Portuguese.

[16]Amaral, op. cit., II, 11-12.

[17]Prado, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[18]Minas, Yorbes, Geges, Hausa, and other Guinea Coast peoples.

[113] See T. Lynn Smith, Brazil: People and Institutions (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 168-169.

[194] [191] [19]African religions, for example, survive in a modified form in the candomblé (fetish) cults and in the supernatural conceptions prevalent in the Recôncavo.

[20]Neither the total number of slaves imported into Brazil nor the number brought to the Recôncavo is known. Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 27-28, estimates the number as 40,000 per year in the seventeenth century, 50,000 per year in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or 14,000,000 for the 300 years of the slave trade. Another source has estimated that 1,200,000 slaves were imported between 1550 and 1850, a more reasonable figure. See section by Pedro Calmon in Curious and Interesting Facts Concerning the First European Settlement Made in the New World, p. 9. It is also asserted in this latter source that "more than half remained in Bahia;" this is less reasonable.

[21]Prado, op. cit., p. 46.

[206] [22]A rope-like twist of dark, often sweetened, tobacco wound in a large coil of 50 to 100 lbs.

[23]At the end of the seventeenth century Bahia was exporting 7,500 tons of sugar per year; Pernambuco 5,400 tons, and Rio de Janeiro 5,350 tons. At this same period Bahia exported 25,000 rolls of tobacco (perhaps 1,125 tons at 45 kg. per roll) compared with 2,500 rolls from Pernambuco and Alagoas. Calogeras, op. cit., p. 31.

[433] [24]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 30-31, cites João Antonil, Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil, por sus Drogas e Minas (1711), who says that in 1711 the mean sugar export--which must have been virtually the entire production--per engenho in Bahia was 52 tons, in Rio de Janeiro 41 tons, and in Pernambuco 22 tons. The weight is given in arrobas by Calogeras.

[25]Amaral, op. cit., II, 84.

[26]Calogeras, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

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249
221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

249
276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

[442]

249
244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further re-
• 276 duce the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation, there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry. If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

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249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle [136] against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing.

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

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249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442
438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.
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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
276
438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "Mata Fina," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 Processing of Agricultural Products. Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
• 276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large usinas and to a lesser extent in engenhos (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories. Manioc is converted into farinha de mandioca in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger usinas own and operate most of the surrounding cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar cane in the Recôncavo is processed by usinas, which produce sugar, rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of engenhos and a few smaller usinas which specialize in the production of rum or crude sugar. The engenhos are most important around the margins of the main sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but the usinas dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big usinas generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

[249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from
505

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the municípios of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--Bahia Brasil--is produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production. The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator. The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

[423] [427] [231] [233] • 276 276 438 [452] [488]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOII
BRAZIL SLI

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[855]
[887]

Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[51] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[52]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[53] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[54] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[55] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[56] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[57] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[51] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[55] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[56] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[57] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOIl Bahia Brazilians SOIl

563*
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A Negro dressed in black is a black vulture with a cape.
A Negro is a *pau de fumo*.[2]
The Negro if he doesn't soil things on entering, soils them before he leaves.
Negro, *onça*'s food.

The following verses of a similar character also are recalled:

The Negro has hair
Which lard will not flatten;
The more he combs it,
The more it kinks.

A Nagô Negro when he dies
Is carried off in a banguê;[3]
His relatives say,
"The vultures have to eat."

An old Negro when he dies
Smells like a skunk;
Our Lady, don't let
That Negro into Heaven!

A Negro when he dies
Is laid out in a shirttail;
His relatives say,
"A poor man has no need of luxury."

The odor of a Negro woman
Comes from two places:
The armpit
And the heel.

If the priest is white, he says Mass;
But if he is a Negro, he only pretends to be saying it.[4]

[2] A piece of wood around which raw tobacco is wrapped for transport. It subsequently turns very black. [276]

[3] A crude litter used in colonial Brazil to carry the bodies of dead slaves, to transport building materials, etc. [493]

[4] An informant explained this line thus: "If he acted as if he was saying Mass, he was merely pretending, for he had not learned how to say it."

5: Azevedo--105 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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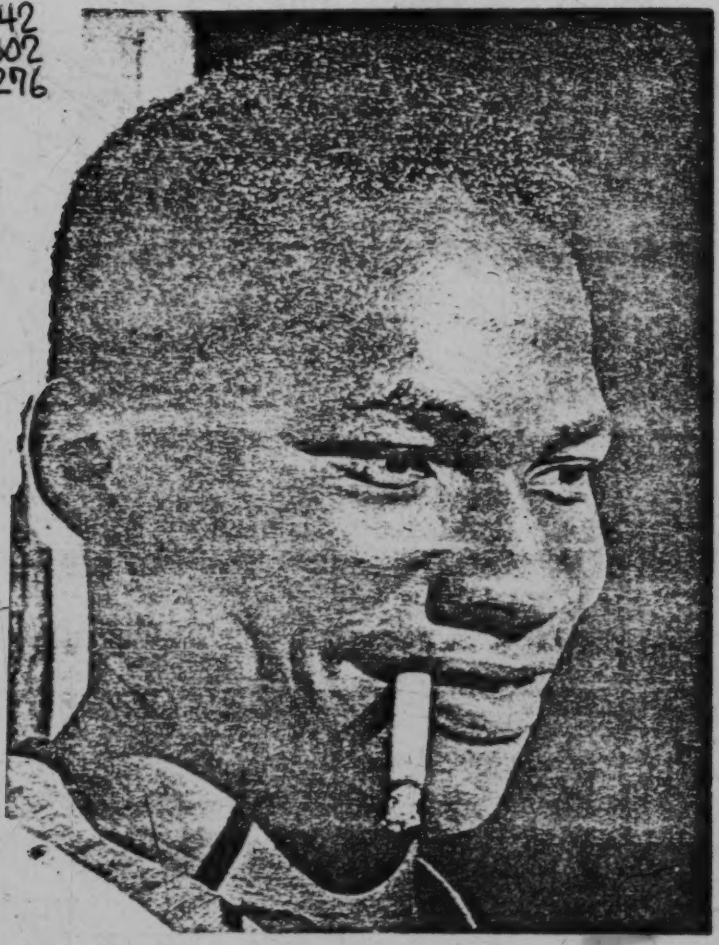

9. Black artist.

277

277 TOBACCO INDUSTRY--industrialized production of tobacco; specialized techniques and equipment; organization of labor and production; regulation; etc.
See also:

Growing of tobacco 145
Industrial structures 340
Manufacture of tobacco manufacturing machines . 702
Description of tobacco processing machines . . 402
Government tobacco monopolies 655

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East Brazil SN1
Northeast Brazil SO1
Brazil SL1

EB
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[647]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB
EB
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During World War II temporary disruption of the national production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.

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[433]

In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]

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While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets. Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II, at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865

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the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
Brazil SL1

of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia--the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems. In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay—at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually 471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of [454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

• 277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported [439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the [464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 438 443 184 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

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249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an indus-
571 try whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the gov-
ernment does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks
or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
433 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
439 of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an
[567] end to the African market for fumo em corda, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, fumo em fôlha, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete
successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and
from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal
market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry
for several centuries.

277 There are several possible explanations for the relatively
472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco
178 have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background.
Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco
economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes
in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry
and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible
leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has
given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the usina, which must be

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249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses. [489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. More- [433] over, since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.

249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up- [134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco. [132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in [134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an [137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

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249 municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land
311 is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached.
[245] Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial
439 product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain--tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within